1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

863 side, where it is allowed to "ripen" for use as medicine, "soap,"
[278 or as a mordant. Infant excretions on the dirt floor of a *ruka*
386] are treated with calm indifference. On one occasion I watched a little boy being held by his mother while he vomited into the fireplace. No one, except this observer, seemed greatly concerned.

854 Although the Araucanians are no longer addicted to bathing
515 in icy streams, as was their ancient custom, mothers still prefer
863 to wash their small youngsters in cold water and to wrap them warmly afterward. Children are bathed often, and the laundering of their clothing is an important feminine occupation. The urine of young boys is highly esteemed for cleaning and shampooing and is said to be particularly good for cleansing the hair of dandruff and vermin. It is rinsed off with water and soap.[18]

● 856 When a child is between six and nine months old it is taken from its cradleboard and allowed to crawl on all fours. Soon thereafter it is taught to walk, guided and encouraged by its mother, perhaps with the help of two parallel bamboo rails set at a convenient height.[19]

855 As is to be expected, Araucanian children suffer from numer-
757 ous ailments. When a youngster is ill he is kept indoors close by the fire, and his mother gives him such home treatments as she can. If these fail she may call in a more experienced woman, who examines the child and prescribes additional remedies. The term for medicine is *l·awen*, and two of the most popular items are *piukel·awen*[20] ("heart-medicine"), and *liq-l·awen* ("white-medicine"), tentatively identified as quinoa, which is supposed to be good for stomach ailments.

Decoctions of aromatic plants like ginger and cinnamon are

[824] [18] Several informants confirmed the uses of urine as here given. Those who do not have soap may use a saponaceous plant, *kül·a*, identified in Augusta (1916, I: 104) as *Chusquea* spec.

[19] Housse, 1939, p. 255. I was told about this device, but I had no opportunity to see it in use. It is described and pictured in Joseph, 1933, pp. 714–15.

[20] Augusta (1916, I: 185) identified it as *Linum selaginoides* Lam., family Linaceae.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

FONTANELS, HEAD SHAPING, BEAUTIFYING THE FACE

Until the fontanels have closed, the baby's head must be protected from the wind, which, it is believed, will blow through the fontanels and give the baby difficulty in breathing. Formerly the soft moss found between stocks of old quila was put around the baby's head in caplike fashion. "That moss was soft and dense. A mother collected it and had it on hand when her baby was born. It is difficult today to find any of it—forest fires have destroyed all the old quila. Anyway, today the baby's head is covered with an infant's cap."

The child's physical and mental development is associated with the closing of the fontanels. If they have not closed by the time the child walks, parents fear that the child will be weakminded, that it will have difficulty in walking, or may not learn to walk at all.

According to an educated Araucanian, the true Araucanian face is round; one not round is always a mestizo, he insisted—a statement to which not all Araucanians would subscribe. A round face, however, is considered a beautiful one by an Araucanian mother. In Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas a mother massages her baby's face to round it whenever she gives it care or nurses or fondles it. An informant showed the manner in which this was done. She moved the fingertips of both hands simultaneously from jaw to front of ears; then from bridge of nose along cheek bones; next from middle of forehead toward temples; and then downward along the ridge of the nose. "But the mother must do it tenderly, for the bones of the baby's head are very soft," she added. When the baby sleeps, the mother will push its cheeks upward with her fingertips and tie little boards over the cheeks to keep them in this position. When asked if the face of a boy, too, was so treated to beautify it, she retorted, "Most certainly it was; more so than a girl's. It is the boys who as men will be the progenitors of the human race."

The mother also shapes the head bones of her baby with her hands; in some instances she ties little boards to its head to round it. She will train its back to be straight by tying it to its cradleboard, but in doing so will allow freedom of movement for its head. However, if the head bulges in the occipital region, she will tie a little board there while the baby is asleep. "That is why the Mapuche have nicely formed heads. The heads of Chileans often bulge in the back."

In all probability it is correct to speak of an "Araucanian nose"—that is, a nose shaped to resemble the beak of the bandurria. The bandurria's beak is long and ends in a graceful dip. Quoting a Coñaripe mother: "The mother often pulls the baby's nose downward

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a horn of gold. Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby sleep. Already the cow with the silver tail is coming. Sleep, baby, sleep." (2) "Sleep, baby, sleep, with the little shoes, through St. John of God. Look! There comes the cow with the silvery horn. Sleep, baby, sleep. There comes the bull with his golden star. Sleep, baby, sleep." (3) "Sleep, sleep, baby. See, I have work to do. My little machine calls me with its triqui traca. Be quiet, be quiet, baby, sleep. Sleep, to please God. See I have work to do." (4) "Sleep, baby. I have much to do: I must wash your diapers and sit down to sew."

TEETHING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING, LAUGHING

The appearance of a child's first tooth is taken notice of but does not designate a specific period of physical development. Parents, however, express satisfaction because their child is developing normally, and may say, "That child is growing up right." Rarely does the family give it any further attention, or consider it an event. In Coñaripe area an occasional family slaughters a sheep and invites neighbors that are friends, or "if the mother has relatives, like a brother or an aunt or an uncle in the neighborhood, she will invite them to come to eat, saying, 'My child has its first tooth.'" In Alepúe area anyone happening to be in a ruka when it is noticed that a child has its first tooth will be treated to yerba maté.

The mother washes the gums of a teething child, morning and evening, with a wad of wool soaked in a decoction of limpia plata to which alum is added, or salt, if no alum is at hand. The child is not given a hard substance on which to bite.

In Coñaripe it is customary to put the first deciduous tooth dropped by a child into safekeeping and to add others as they drop out. When all have fallen out, they are buried in the floor of the ruka, "such as in a corner or close to one of those poles [supporting the roof] where no one walks. These teeth are a part of the human being and contain part of his spirit. They are buried in this manner so that when the person dies, his spirit will not need to go around looking for the rest of himself. No, they are not put into a container or piece of cloth; they are buried just the way they are." In Alepúe area the child throws each tooth as it falls out into a chupón. "No animal will attempt to get in there because the blades of the plant have sharp points." The child will say in Araucanian, as it throws a tooth, "Little mouse, little mouse, give me a new tooth; a nicer one than this old one."

If the first deciduous tooth has fallen out and the others are slow in doing so, the mother rubs a preparation along the child's gums. In

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855 Cofiaripe area it is a mixture of juice of the inner bark of the álamo and salt. "It smarts, but soon the teeth drop out without pain. The first set of teeth is not the real set; it must come out."

856 The child creeps before it walks; it is expected to creep when about a year old. The mother of a 2-year-old boy explained that her child's left side had been lame since birth; except for this "he should be walking by now and no longer creeping." Creeping is usually done on hands and feet. "A healthy child always crawls on all fours." An occasional child slides along on a hip; a sickly one "may slouch along, sitting down." Having been tied to a cradleboard does not incapacitate the child for creeping.

Walking is an event in human development.—So are the ability to carry out an order, puberty (which ends childhood), and marriage.—"It is an important thing in any human life to be able to walk." It is [561] not celebrated, however. From birth until the child is able to walk, it is spoken of as "a small child" (pichiche); as soon as it walks alone, as "the small child walks now" (pichiche ŋaillai). An endearing expression used by the mother with reference to her son who has just learned to walk is "My little boy is growing up now" (pichi altaweñi); with reference to her daughter "she is little woman now" (pichi domo).

868 If a child does not walk when about two years old, it is helped to learn to do so. A 2-year-old boy was given such help during an interview. His mother supported him under his armpits while his 5-year-old sister swung one of his legs forward and then the other. Having done this a few times, she slid backward and coaxed her little brother to move toward her. The interpreter had seen a mother put a stinging insect, agrillo (kuniŋ kuniŋ), under the knee of a child that was not making a normal attempt to walk. To get away from the sting of the grillo the child took steps forward.

Sometimes a child learns to walk by being put into a small homemade 3-wheeled pushcart. The framework of the cart is of armpit height and is made of quila. It is topped off with two boards upon which the child rests its arms. The wheels are cross sections of a young tree trunk. "My sister has a little boy in such a cart now."

856 Parents take notice of a child's first laugh and first words, "and are glad the child is growing up right, but no one celebrates the events." A mother will say with joy, "Now, my baby speaks. Everybody in the family will be glad and pass the word along; it means the child is normal." Nothing was done to assist the child in developing early speech. "If we knew of anything to do, we would do it for my brother. He is older than 2 years and can speak only a few words."

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FONTANELS, HEAD SHAPING, BEAUTIFYING THE FACE

856 827 The closing of the fontanels is considered a normal development, but it was noted that those of a healthy child close earlier than do those of a sickly one. They are expected to have closed by the time the child begins to walk. The mother takes notice whether the fontanels are closing, but no one looks upon it as an event worth celebrating.

304 My informants knew of no custom of skull formation; the face, however, was molded, at times. Araucanians were not able to identify adults' skulls (flattened in the inion region and in the temporal regions, back of the ears) in the collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín, which were found in interments in the Araucanian country. A 70-year-old man examined the skulls and remarked, "If our people ever did anything to flatten the head, I never heard them tell about it. Nor did [184] we ever tie boards to the baby's face, as you say some Mapuche in Chile do."

In all probability, however, it was institutional to mold the child's face so that the nose conformed to one recognized as an Araucanian nose, and one that was thought to beautify the face. Such a nose, not unlike a Roman nose with its tip dipping downward, was seen on many older men and women. (Pl. 60.) Since younger persons seldom possessed such a nose, one is led to believe the custom no longer prevails. A 60-year-old woman was not interested in the custom. Her father had told her that formerly every child's nose was stroked so as to bring the nose forward and that its chin and cheeks were formed also. "But I do not believe in it. The way one is born, that is the way one is expected to be." According to a man in his seventies, only an occasional child had its face molded: "If one of our children has a face so fat that its nose does not show up very well, its mother will stroke its cheeks backward like this [stroking with palms of both hands, simultaneously, toward ears]. We do not want our people to have ugly faces. I am glad to hear that some of those Mapuche in Chile are doing something to the faces of their children to do away with those flattened noses that some of them have when they grow up. Some have ugly faces. We call such faces chap doyüu [flat-nosed];[6] the Argentines call them chatos."

[6] All Araucanian words were checked against Félix José de Augusta's Diccionario (1916), if found there. Before using the Diccionario for the pronunciation of words, the reader is advised to consult Appendix A, Phonetic key to the Araucanian language.

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854 533 said her mother sang a repetition of "sh" to several melodies. She herself sang a Spanish lullaby to her children, one she had learned by hearing her mother sing it: "Por una manzana, calle, calle guagua. Allá vienen todos, guiadalos por el toro." (For an apple, hush, hush little one. There they all come, led by a bull.)

A mother was said to be letting her small child dance to her singing if she moved it up and down in her arms or held its hands and let it move its feet up and down on the ground while she sang to it.

TEETHING, SMILING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING

854 [856] Nothing was done to develop early growth of teeth. "When it was time for the first tooth to appear, it came; then another came; then another, until all had come." No developmental significance was attached to the appearance or the loss of the first tooth.

Formerly, the mother washed the baby's gums, if inflamed, with a decoction of bark of radal; today, young mothers use vinegar. Formerly, if a teething child ran a temperature, the mother rubbed its gums with unwashed wool of black sheep; today, young mothers use alum bought in stores.

Every tooth of both the first and second set, when it dropped out, was buried somewhere in the toldo. Places pointed out were junctions of wall and floor, fissures in walls, and places under rocks around the fireplace. "Not many do that today. But it is a bad thing to throw teeth away; things may happen. In any event our teeth are a part of us; they should be buried in the ground, for when we die the rest of us will be buried in the ground, also." Formerly, fingernail parings and hair cuttings were also buried in the house. "After death the person needs all these. If they are not all buried in the same place, the person has to run around to find them."

A baby's first smile is not celebrated, and never has been, but "it makes the father and mother happy." The mother will fondle the child lovingly for it, and tell others about it.

868 Usually children were not permitted to creep, but occasionally a mother might allow it, to give the child an opportunity to try out its strength. If it did creep, it did so on hands and feet; or it slid along on one hip. In general, when the child showed signs of wanting to creep, the mother taught it to stand, and does so today. "When this one [1 year 3 months old] wanted to creep, I taught it to balance itself by having it stand near me with arms straight down by its sides. A child can be taught to stand alone at 10 months: it will rise and fall, rise again and fall again, but finally it will learn to stand alone."

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

grow older, competence is demanded by both parents, who express considerable annoyance if chores are not performed well. 861 [868]

Parental annoyance does not often lead to physical punishment. Children are seldom punished, although often scolded. Parents and grandparents suffer a small child to hit them in a tantrum or playfully, telling them "No! No! Don't be naughty." As children grow older, they might be cuffed or whipped by their father, rarely by their mother. There is nothing systematic about this sort of punishment. It seems to occur in a fit of parental temper, which is suppressed when the child is young. [865]

A mother enjoys suckling her children and gives them the breast to soothe them. It is not uncommon to see children with a full set of teeth taking their mother's breast under certain circumstances, often when the mother and child are away from home and the child is tired and restless. I have seen it occur at funerals, weddings, and religious ceremonies at which children whom I had previously thought were weaned took the breast along with a newborn sibling. It is said that in days of polygynous households co-wives took turns nursing each other's children, but as far as I could discover (and there were no nursing children in any of the polygynous households I visited), this does not occur today unless the mother has no milk or is otherwise indisposed. In that case the child is sometimes nursed by a relative or close friend or sometimes fed gruel or canned milk, there being little fresh milk available on the reservations. 853 [595]

Both mother and father take an interest in their children's toilet training, although the mother has the most responsibility simply because she is with them more than the father. The Mapuche are not rigid in this training and apparently are not disturbed by a child's soiling himself and the floor. Either the mother or the father sweeps or scrapes the excrement outside and cleans the child with a wet cloth. 863

One aspect of a child's early upbringing about which parents seem rather stringent, at least in contrast to their permissive attitudes in other respects, is in discouraging children from crawling. While there is some variation in the way this is done, one of the parents usually sets the child upon its feet or takes it in his lap. Formerly, children were trained in most households by means of a set of parallel sticks of bamboo serving as handholds along which the child could guide himself. 856 [861]

If the mother is the primary disciplinarian, she is also the main 855